DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 208 692 FL 012 629

AUTHOR Durnuller, Urs
TITLE What Is a Varieties Grammar?
PUB DATE Sep 81
NOTE 56p.: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics (Sussex, England, September 18-20, 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS English (Second Language); *English for Special Purposes; *Grammar; *Language Variation

ABSTRACT

A varieties grammar (VG) attempts to provide a unifying apparatus for various kinds of language varieties: diatopic, diastratic, and diatypic. The notion of "family grammar" appears to be especially useful in that process since it permits the postulation of a supergrammar for the whole family as well as that of subgrammars for the individual members. In order to restrict the scope of a VG, the present approach defines varieties as typolects, which are interpreted as contrasting with idiolects. In order to make the theory of a VG applicable to pedagogical purposes the notion of a VG is further restricted to that of the grammar of a repertoire of varieties as it might exist for real speakers of English. The consideration of the needs of speakers of English as a second language leads to a redefinition of grammar in holistic terms, i.e., to an inclusion of sociocultural aspects of language into the framework of the grammar. While it is impossible to write a VG for all the varieties of English, it seems to be possible to set up ad hoc VGs of English, for instance, for English for special purposes. (Author)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED208692

Urs Dürmüller
Department of English, University of Bern, Switzerland

What is a Varieties Grammar ?

Paper presented to British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL), Annual Meeting, University of Sussex, September 18-20, 1981.

Abstract

A Varieties Grammar (VG) attempts to provide a unifying apparatus for various kinds of language varieties - diatopic, diastratic, and diatypic. The notion of 'family grammar' appears to be especially useful in that process since it permits the postulation of a supergrammar for the whole 'family' as well as that of subgrammars for the individual 'members'. In order to restrict the scope of a VG, the present approach defines varieties as 'typolects', which are interpreted as contrasting with idiolects. And in order to make the theory of a VG applicable to pedagogical purposes the notion of a VG is further restricted to that of the grammar of a repertoire of varieties as it might exist for real speakers of English. The consideration of the needs of EFL speakers leads to a redefinition of grammar in holistic terms, i.e. to an inclusion of socio-cultural aspects of language into the framework of the grammar. While it is impossible to write a VG for, e.g., all the varieties of English, it seems to be possible to set up *ad hoc* VGs of English as, e.g., for ESP.

FL 012 629

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Urs Dürmüller
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Contents

1	HOMOGENEITY WITHIN HETEROGENEITY: TYPOLECTS	1
2	POTENTIAL AND COMMON CORE	9
	Variable Rules in a VG	11
	Implicational Analysis in a VG	14
3	HOLISM	19
	Co-Occurrence Rules in a VG	21
	Ways of Speaking	23
	Definition of Grammar	26
4	APPLYING A VARIETIES GRAMMAR	28
	Code-Switching in a VG	28
	ESP in Terms of a VG	31
	Contrastive Analysis and the VG	33
	Scope and Form of a VG	36
	The VG as an Ad-Hoc Grammar	38
	The Transformational-Additive Model	41
	The Potential-Selection Model	42
References		48

1 Homogeneity within Heterogeneity: Typolects

Since 1966, some linguists have been reacting against the homogeneity hypothesis. American variationist in particular were reacting against the freezing of language at a given point in time and against the idealization of Chomsky's speaker-hearer. William Labov and his pioneering work about variable language behavior in Manhattan was welcomed as an act of liberation. Linguists now wanted to study heterogenity in language, to find dynamic, instead of static models for language description, and they are still trying to develop a metatheory capable of incorporating variation itself at the center of language study. As Bickerton said: "It is time for linguists in general to stop looking for static systems which have no objective existence and accept the fact that language is an ongoing process, not a steady state." (1973:668)

As much as I agree with the American variationists about the need to study variation in language, I cannot follow them into condemning the static model completely. It is true that traditional synchronic linguistics has largely excluded types of variation from the purview of the discipline; and some of the most interesting aspects of linguistics, like language learning and language change, can be studied most insightfully only if the homogeneity hypothesis is abandoned. For the purpose of a varieties grammar, and certainly for language teaching, however, a certain degree of language freezing, of homogeneity within heterogeneity, is still necessary.

I base my approach towards a VG on the notion of the variety as typolect. This means that I am concerned with variation in language not on the level of the individual, and idiolectal, but on the level of the supra-individual, the typical. With language that is group-specific, indicative of recurrent situations or classes of genres, etc.

Typolectal varieties are conveniently classified as either diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, or diatypic varieties.

(1) Language varieties of English

DIACHRONIC	SYNCHRONIC		
historical varieties: OE, ME, etc.	DIATOPIC local-regional	DIASTRATIC social-cult.	DIATYPIC functional-stylistic

This chart would allow for diachronic and synchronic comparison of varieties. Accordingly, if a VG were written it could be used to show the differences between the Academic Written English of ca. 1100, 1500 and 1900; it could be used to relate the characteristics of the speech of Sam Weller (in The Pickwick Papers) to a certain sociolect, or those of the rhetorics of Hrothgar (in Beowulf) to a certain genre. In these cases as well as in those depicted in an account of present-day San Francisco Bay Area varieties the salient features of the varieties in question would be indicated. (Dürmüller, 1980)

Obviously, the notion of a varieties grammar with such a vast span cannot be developed within the synchronic-static model. Yet, in spite of the apparent need for a heterogenous model, the homogeneity hypothesis is not abandoned completely. It is simply relegated from the level of the total language to that of the variety. Thus, the individual varieties come to be considered typolects. Terminologically, 'typolect' expresses that a variety is not simply the language of a certain individual, but that typical of a group, a situation, a place at a given point of time, etc. A Black inhabitant of the San Francisco Bay Area, e.g., does not represent Black English by himself, he most probably participates in the variety called Black English. Black English, like other typolectal varieties he may have command of, exists through the use several speakers make of it as a group. For sure, there are individual features that

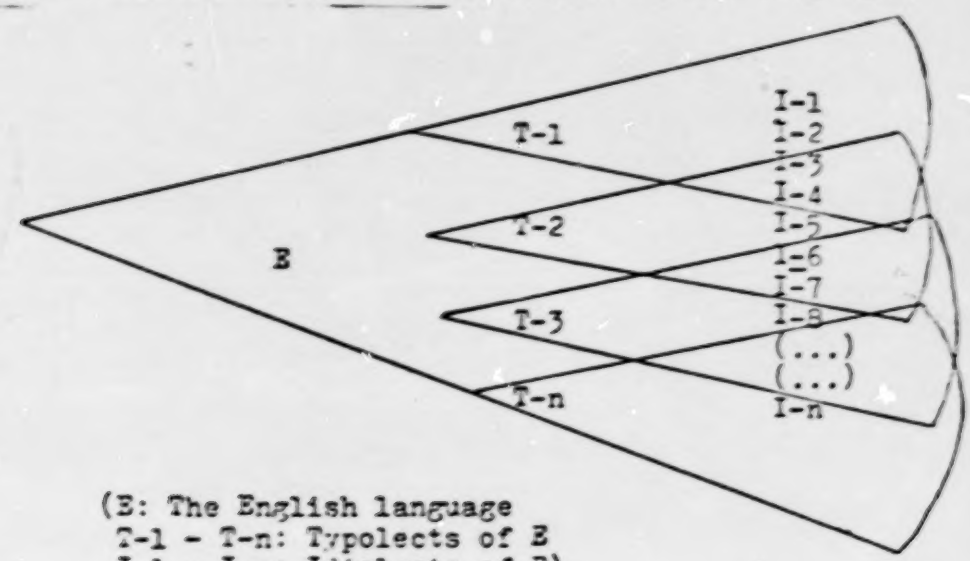
make it possible to distinguish the speech habits of speaker A from the speech habits of speaker B, even when both use the same variety. There is still considerable variation left between speaker-hearers in the way their individuality shapes their speech habits and in the way they organize their speech repertoires. Such differences, of course, are also example of variation in language - actually, they have been studied foremost by variationists - but they belong to a level below that of the typolect; they are idiolectal in nature and thus not part of the central concerns of a varieties grammar working with typolects.

Typolects characterize a variety through what, by common agreement, is viewed as typical; by features and rules that are characteristically observed by the average speaker. It is by sticking to single language varieties at a time, by comparing how these are made use of by various speakers or in various texts, and by relying on statistical methods of discovering what is the average with regard to inventories and usage, that one may succeed in describing a variety as a typolect. What a varieties grammar relies on are the regular areas of social and cultural agreement where individuals extend their roles in predictable ways, not individual behavior. Or to say it in Saussurean terms: A varieties grammar is based on <u>langue</u> rather than on <u>parole</u>. Saussure, by the way, was one of the great linguists violently attacked by variationists for having forced the homogeneity hypothesis upon linguistics (cp. Bailey 1973). It is interesting to note, however, that even variationists have to confirm the existence of typolects, and thus of areas of homogeneity in language. Without being able to account for the phenomenon, Labov, e.g., has noticed that individuals are fairly consistent in their use of linguistic variables. He noticed that their patterns of frequencies are quite stable. Individual informants do not vary significantly from the speech patterns characteristic of the whole group. And when, in any of the many corpuses of sociolinguistic data available now, these data are scanned by looking at individual

scores, the broad patterns for grouping become very distinct.

The relation between English, the whole language, its varieties (typolects) and individual language (idiolects) can be represented like this:

(2) Typolects in relation to idiolects and total language



(E: The English language
T-1 - T-n: Typolects of E
I-1 - I-n: Idiolects of E)

English (the English language) as a whole is viewed here as consisting of all the varieties in the language. A variety, on the other hand, is not defined as consisting of all the idiolects in the language. The range of the individual language repertoire of a speaker may let him participate in one, two, three or even further varieties; but no one would have a speech repertoire that includes all the varieties of English. Varieties are therefore defined as consisting of the idiolects of a number of people that are linked through shared cultural background or networks of interests and/or activities. Communication within such groups regulates the use of language. The selection of linguistic items from the whole of English is approximately the same for all the speakers participating in a typolect. Individuals are seen to fit into the regular patterns of typolects; there, possible idiolectal variation is eliminated

through statistical idealization.

For the purpose of identifying typolects, especially typolects representing ethnic and other group varieties, linguists and ethnographers profitably turn to folklore. I had a chance - thanks to Alan Dundes - of inspecting the Berkeley Folklore Archives and found ample material documenting the existence of ethnic varieties of English in the San Francisco Bay Area (see Dürmüller, 1981). I could show that the folk are aware of their own and especially of others' way of speaking. Indeed foklore material may represent a group's image of itself as well as the representation of that image by members of other groups. Social and ethnic groups have traditional rivals and scapegoats for which the folklore acts as a unifying force by means of identifying the group and as a divisive force by means of molding or confirming a group's attitude toward another group. The genre of folklore most useful for this purpose is blason populaire, a genre comprising ethnic slurs, prejudiced attitudes and stereotype judgments (Dundes 1975).

In my description of English language varieties in the San Francisco Bay Area (Dürmüller, 1980). I have strongly relied on examples of blason populaire in order to document from an ethnographic point of view the existence of several group varieties. Blason populaire can reveal how ethnic and other social language varieties are valued and which of their features appear as the most salient ones.

Typolects are characterized by showing consistency and coherency. By consistency I mean that they are stable entities that may be used by individual speakers or writers, but that are not directly affected by the idiosyncrasies of these users. By coherency I mean that typolects are restricted by co-occurrence expectations across the various layers of language.

Stylisticians, like Crystal & Davy (1969) also talk about varieties in a way that seems to agree with my definition of typolect. They define variety as "a unique configuration of linguistic features" displaying "a stable formal-functional correspondence." Thus Crystal & Davy can speak of a variety as "the language of X", e.g. the language of science, the language of law, the language of legal documents (this on a lower level), etc. Such languages of X are examples of typolects. The listing of the linguistic features characterizes not just one legal document, e.g., but legal documents in general. Further subcategorization would make it possible to isolate the variety of "British legal documents written after World War II", etc.

Prague School functional stylistics also attributes greater importance to supra-individual (objective) styles than to individual ones. Dolezel 1968:146: "Objective styles reflect the impact of social style-forming factors on human communication. Those factors are independent of individual speakers, being immanent to certain text forms or text functions." One kind of "objective style" is "genre", which Dolezel interprets in the fashion of literary criticism, thus stretching the term to include such varieties as, e.g., "the language of the Breton Lay" (in ME literature) or "the language of the Tail-Rime Romance" (to adduce another genre of ME literature).

Where typolects represent the speech behavior of social groups, it might be helpful to clarify their relation to language in a "community grammar". A VG is conceived as a community grammar in more than one sense. Conventionally, grammars written by linguists are supposed to be grammars not simply of individuals, but of speech communities. In this tradition, language structure is assumed to be homogenous and invariant so that any speaker-hearer in the community would have the grammar internalized, thus making it possible for a linguist to pull the community grammar out of any speaker-hearer, as it were. If this speaker-hearer

is replaced by a statistically idealized one - as in variationist theory - then the emerging community grammar is equalled with that of a typolect in a varieties grammar; i.e. it is assumed that a number of constraints are shared by all the speakers of the typolect. There is, however, a second interpretation to 'community grammar'. It may be assumed that within any real community of speakers there is more than one variety of language (or of more than one language). In a VG, the typolects occurring in any community can be related to each other; the varieties that make up the speech repertoire(s) of the members of a given community can be represented within a unifying theory. Community grammar (sense 2) is thus defined as a polylectal grammar, each part of which also has supra-individual validity as a typolectal community grammar (sense 1).

Something like the notion of typolect I have in mind is represented in what one might call a popularized and applied VGE: The People's English (Hamilton, 1975). The book purports to be "a guide to the six great social classes in the US - and more particularly, to their speech and writing standards" (1975:i). It is written as a coursebook for the student of English (as a native speaker), introducing language at the lower-class level and then progressingly adding more elements of grammar and vocabulary for the middle and upper-class levels. It does not give a complete description of either of these varieties of English, but selects from them those items that should be part of the linguistic repertoire of Americans who want to upgrade themselves socially.

Although I do not share a view of English as consisting of inferior and superior varieties, I do believe that social classes in both the USA and in GB speak different varieties of English. As is well known, strong claims for the existence of socially differentiated varieties of E were made by Bernstein in GB and by Bereiter/Engelmann in the US. Like them, Hamilton argues that lower-class children must be given better education.

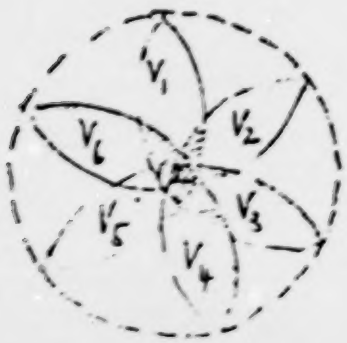
And he supports their claim that the language variety used by the lower-class children must be classified hierarchically below that of the middle-class speakers. While this claim seems irrelevant to me, I share their view that stigmatized varieties do exist and are widely, even popularly understood to be expressive of social class (in these instances), or ethnic groups, occupational fields, particular situations, etc. (in other cases) and that they can be isolated as homogenous units within the larger heterogenous complex of English.

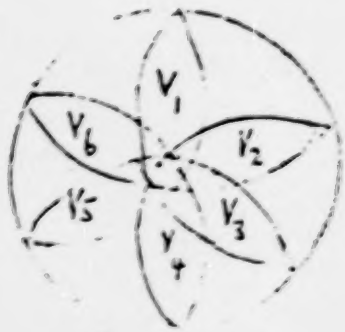
2 Potential and Common Core

The relationships among the varieties of a language can be likened to that of members in a family. This notion is at least as old as Schleicher's Stammbaumtheorie (1861) and has been repeatedly exploited in linguistics. It has been pointed out (by Wunderlich, 1974) that there are two reasonable ways of picturing how the total language can be understood to comprise its individual varieties, both in terms of set theory: (1) language is defined as the set-theoretical intersectiion of all its varieties, (2) it is defined as the set-theoretical union of all its varieties.

(3) Intersection and union of varieties

(1) Intersection of varieties (2) Union of varieties





Kanngiesser (1972) has used the terms 'standard' to refer to (1) and 'potential' to refer to (2). 'Standard' appears to be an unfortunate term because what it designates is not the standard language. More helpful here is Hockett's (1958) term 'common core', if it is understood to be that part of the language which is shared by all its varieties. Quirk et al's (1972) initial definition of the term comes close to what is meant here: "however esoteric or remote a variety may be, it has running through it a set of grammatical and

other characteristics that are present in all others." (1972:14). Of course, the field in which all the varieties intersect does not constitute a variety by itself, but, as a kind of 'common core', the set of language items shared by all the varieties can be useful as a point of reference. As an instrument measuring the degree of commonness among varieties, the 'common core' might indeed be called the 'standard' of the language.

'Potential', Kanngiesser's second term, is less ambiguous than 'standard'. Again, the summation or union of all the varieties does not constitute a variety. It contains the total set of items that could potentially be selected by individual varieties. Because it contains every possible variety it gives a maximal definition of the language.

Thus, two or more varieties can be described by referring them back (1) to the 'common core' or (2) to the 'potential' and then listing the differences that define them as what they are as (1) additions to the 'common core', or (2) particular selections from the 'potential'.

There are two assumptions in Kanngiesser's model that deserve further consideration in an approach to a VG: (1) the view that the grammars of the varieties of a language are co-existent and parallel with each other, and (2) the view that all these grammars select their rules from a kind of supergrammar (the 'potential') and therefore also have a certain amount of rules in common (as reflected in the 'standard' or 'common core'). By means of extensional rules every variety can be equalled with any other variety, the extensional rules indicating the differences between the varieties before their equation.

A system of parallel grammars is postulated in generative dialectology. Indeed, generative models offer an attractive way to compare the rule inventories of varieties. Using

these models within the framework of common core and potential is somewhat dubious, however, because common core cannot simply be equated with deep structure. My main objection, however, has to do with the answer to the question whether the grammarian can know for sure what the underlying form common to all the varieties is. Hausmann (1975) has argued convincingly that even within phonology, where matters appear to be simplest, the Identity Hypoethis is too strong. And in other areas of language, especially semantics and pragmatics, lexicon and speech genres, where the cultural load of individual varieties appears most forcefully, the Identity Hypoethesis is certainly doomed to collapse as well.

Variable Rules in a VG

Another model devised to account for variability in language is the model of variable rules, developed by Labov within the framework of generative-transformational grammar. Variable rules can be interpreted as a special kind of optional rules. Their occurrence, however, is no longer random or unpredictable, but determined by statistical clues and the calculation of applicational probabilities.

In spite of the fact that variable rules were developed not to differentiate whole language varieties from each other, but to show variation in language at one point and one time only, the probabilities of rule application in a VG might be calculated of variety specific rules in the same way as in the models proposed by Labov (1969), Cedergren & Sankoff (1974) and Sankoff (1975). In a VG, however, the use of variable rules would never be a clever device for the display of statistical data, but a means to establish a clear-cut tabulation of rules. That is why, in a VG, only the basic

idea of variable rules would be used, and not the whole and intricate computing aparatus. Instead of assigning any one rule a probability of application under certain extra- and intra-linguistic conditions, it is more desirable for a VG to have the rules contained in the overall inventory of rules (the supergrammar) associated with a selection probability according to variety. That is to say, the grammar would indicate whether and to what degree it is probable that a certain rule will be selected from the stock of rules and operate in a given variety. A rule would have a probability of application between 0 and 1 -- just as in ordinary variable rule theory; but the VG would now specify the probabilities according to individual varieties. Accordingly, a rule number 5, e.g., would have various subsets according to the variety specific probabilities of application, so that

(4)	R 5	$p(V_1)$	1
		$p(V_2)$	0.8
		$p(V_3)$	0.6
		$p(V_4)$	0.3
		$p(V_5)$	0

saying that a (fictitious) rule number 5 operates with a probability of 1 (= always) in variety 1, but only with a probability of 0.8 in variety 2, ..., and with a probability of 1 (= always) in variety 1, but only with a probability of 0 (= never) in variety 5. If the VG is expected to be fully descriptive, an exact and detailed indication of the probabilities is called for. If, however, it is expected to be predictive and prescriptive as for educational purposes like the teaching of second dialects or the teaching of special registers, further abstractions and idealizations are necessary. I am quite certain that language learners

would never be able to cope realistically with a rule of which they know that it can be applied only in x % of all the cases. For applied linguistics, therefore, the probabilities attached to the rules in the super-grammar must be round to either 0, meaning that the rule is not selected as part of the Variety Grammar in question, or 1, meaning that it is selected, and maybe 0.5 (saying that you may, but need not, observe the rule in question). The result being a new set of categorical (P 1) and optional (P 0.5) rules produced by a simplified and greatly idealized variable rules mechanism. It was Wolfram (1971) who first applied such a simplified form of variable rules methodology on to typolectal varieties. Dealing with 4 varieties of English,

(5) Wolfram 1971

V_1: Standard English
V_2: White non-standard southern
V_3: Black non-standard north-eastern (NY: Labov)
V_4: Black non-standard southern (Mississippi)

Wolfram described them as either having a certain rule, or not having it, or having it optionally; i.e., in our terms, the P-values were limited to 0, 0.5, or 1, as suggested above.

	-Z Poss.	Differentiated Poss. Pron
V_1	+ man's book	+ her book
V_2	~ man book~man's b.	+ her book
V_3	- man book	+ her book
V_4	- man book	~ she book~her book

While the application of the variable rules model made by Wolfram can illustrate paradigmatically how a simplified version of the Labovian apparatus might be brought to work, it also demonstrates that the sophistication the variable rules methodology can achieve in dealing with variation in language is lost in the coarser context of a VG interested

in typolects.

Implicational Analysis in a VG

Whereas the adherents of the variable rule model have their main interest in the quantification of forms occurring in actual speech, the proponents of the scalogram or implicational scales analysis method are interested in determining whatever might be implied regarding the status of one feature or rule from the status of another or others. By analogy to feature analysis, DeCamp (1970) suggested that language varieties can be ordered along a continuum expressive of a hierarchical relationship.

(6) Relating features to varieties (adapted from DeCamp 1970)

Features					
F_1	F_2	F_3	F_4	F_5	
1	1	1	1	1	V_1
1	1	1	1	0	V_2
1	1	1	0	0	V_3
1	1	0	0	0	V_4
1	0	0	0	0	V_5
0	0	0	0	0	V_6

Varieties

This table shows that if the value of a square (the intersection of features and varieties) is 1, any square above or to its left will also be 1; if 0, any square below or to its right will also be 0. Thus, one can predict that if a speaker uses the variant pronunciation <u>vahz</u> for 'vase' he will almost certainly say <u>It is I</u> as opposed to <u>It's me</u> as well. This aspect of implicational analysis is related to the notion of co-occurrence rules, which is also important in a typolectal VG.

Usually, the notion of a language continuum implies an ordering of varieties between two poles. In DeCamp's post-creole continuum of Jamaican English (1971) there is a kind of Standard English at the one end of the continuum and an English-based creole on the other. The features of the polar varieties are used to characterize the intermediate varieties, as also seen in Stolz & Bills' (1969) work on the differentiation of two varieties of Texas English. (7: see next page).

In this table, the two top informants represent Central Texas Rural White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Non-Standard English in its purest form; the four speakers at the bottom that of Standard Central Texan English. The idiolects of the informants that are placed between the two poles can be said to represent intermediate varieties. In Bickerton's terminology they can be considered isolects since they differ from each other at least at one point; but they are certainly not typolects. Only if a number of the intermediate isolects would be found to cluster around a certain score figure, could one construct a typolect. Two typolects, however, can be read into the scalogram analysis of Stolz & Bills without much difficulty. The one, Central Texas Rural White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Non-Standard English, represented by the top speakers, would be seen as extending almost down to the middle, to speaker LB, to be exact, whereas the second typolect, Standard Central Texan English, represented by the bottom speakers, would be seen as reaching up to speakers MVW or GJ. The three speakers in the middle with scores from 5 to 7 do not warrant, at least not on the basis of this restricted analysis, the postulation of an additional typolect. It seems to me that implicational scales can be used to demonstrate whether a given variety actually functions as a typolect. If, in sample analysis, relative majorities of informants are found to cluster around some scores, they

(7) Isoglots of Texan English (Stolz & Tillis, 1969, Table 2)

TABLE 2

RESULTS OF THE SCALOGRAM ANALYSES

Informant	Dialect Feature												Score	
	ain't	*AuxD	p-pp	DN	ing	s/p	have	th → ð	adj	wudn't	there's	that	max	min
AP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12
MJW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	12
ML	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	nd	11	12
JP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	11	11
RC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	11	11
NC	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	12	12
CK	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	10	10
DW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	9	9
MW	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	nd	nd	0	9	11
EW	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	9	9
WP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	9	9
LB	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	9	9
JM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
KP	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	7	7
BH	1	1	1	0	1	0	nd*	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
GJ	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
MVW	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
EH	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
EMH	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
GP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	nd	0	0	0	0	0
JC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
JT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Max Score	19	17	16	16	15	14	14	12	12	7	5	2		
Min Score	19	17	16	16	15	14	14	12	12	9	5	3		

*nd = no data

(8) Educational varieties of English (based on Hamilton 1975)

Selected grammatical items on a continuum

	LL	UL	LM	UM	LU	UU
Basic Word Order	1	1	1	1	1	1
Parts of Speech	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sentence Types	1	1	1	1	1	1
Irregular Verb Forms	0	1	1	1	1	1
Tense	0	1	1	1	1	1
Sequences of Tenses	0	1	1	1	1	1
Mood	0	1	1	1	1	1
Voice	0	1	1	1	1	1
Case	0	1	1	1	1	1
Agreement	0	1	1	1	1	1
Pronominal Reference	0	1	1	1	1	1
Comparison	0	0	1	1	1	1
Omission/Ellipsis	0	0	1	1	1	1
Point of View	0	0	1	1	1	1
shall, will	0	0	0	1	1	1
should, would	0	0	0	1	1	1
for	0	0	0	0	1	1
yet	0	0	0	0	1	1
who/which/that	0	0	0	0	0	1
restrictive/nonrestr. relative clauses	0	0	0	0	0	1

LL: lower lower language
UL: upper lower language
LM: lower middle language
UM: upper middle language
LU: lower upper language
UU: upper upper language

will be representatives of a typolect, which, much as in variable rule methodology, appears as a kind of statistical idealization. Hamilton's The People's English (1975) referred to above as a kind of popular varieties grammar certainly derives its notion of class languages from statistical observations. The lesson structure of the book can be arranged on a scale of education, as it were (8: see prec. page), the bottom represented by the heavily restricted variety of 'lower lower language' and the top by the maximally developed variety of 'upper upper language' - which yield 1 in every square of the grid. Here the grid becomes the supergrammar with reference to which the individual varieties can be defined.

Greater descriptive accuracy can be claimed for the following example, in which isolects are interpreted as typolects. Crystal & Fletcher (1979) give a synthesis of the descriptive findings in the English language acquisition literature. They provide a postulated set of age-related stages of syntactic development in the language acquisition process of children up to ca. 5 years. The seven stages recognized by them can be related to syntactic structures as on a continuum and be presented in a panlectal grid working as a VG.

(9) Varieties of English as stages of language acquisition (based on data from Crystal & Fletcher 1979:170-171). Syntactic features on a continuum

Stages	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Single element sentences	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Two element clauses	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Three element clauses	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Four (+) element clauses	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Clause sequence, connectivity	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Completion of grammatical system	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other structures (sentence connectivity using adverbials; emphatic word order variation, etc.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Ages: I: 0:9 - 1:6, II: 1:6 - 2:0, III: 2:0 - 2:6, IV: 2:6 - 3:0
V: 3:0 - 3:6, VI: 3:6 - 4:6, VII: 4:6 -

Scalogram analysis method allows substitution of idiolectal varieties (Bickerton's isolects) by group varieties. Varieties represented in panlectal grids are defineable as sets selected from a kind of supergrammar assumed at either one of the polar ends. In an account of lineraly representable varieties of English as along the historical axis of language development or in the process of language acquisition, the writing of a VG based on the implicational analysis method might be possible. The stages in the evolution of English or in the gradual elaboration of an originally restricted educational code can be seen as isolects having the status of typolects. Varieties that cannot be lineraly ordered with each other, however, seem to be outside the implicational approach. In these cases, a model built on suggestions made in variable rule methodology might still work. Indeed, it was by building on Kanngiesser's notion of the potential and Labov's variable rules that Klein (1974) devised his reference grammar for the Heidelberg project "Pidgin-Deutsch" (see also Klein & Dittmar, 1978).

There the set of varieties and their grammars are interrelated by establishing a supergrammar or reference grammar valid for them all. The supergrammar covers all the varieties and at the same time subtermines them. The language described in the supergrammar contains all the sentences of the individual varieties in the form of subsets. The rules in the supergrammar are constrained by probabilistic evaluations so that they apply only to certain individual varieties.

3 Holism

Although all the models referred to can claim some sociolinguistic status, they have not been applied to all the areas of language organization, but only to questions of

variation in phonology and syntax. While the requirements of a VG, (1) the interpretation of varieties as typolects, and (2) the family embedding of individual varieties and their grammars, can be met by the models considered, they all fail the third requirement, that of a holistic description of the varieties in question.

My last point will have to do with the notion of holism in a VG. In his 1972 address to the Georgetown University Round Table, Charles Fillmore outlined the requirements of a manual that might give an outsider (a minor god) access to our language. It was made obvious that the linguistic competence he would have to acquire would go far beyond the Chomskyan limitations. I have looked at the case of another outsider, the EFL speaker in the San Francisco Bay Area and concluded that he needs a knowledge of several varieties and that the knowledge of these varieties must go beyond grammatical competence as conventionally defined. (Dürmüller, 1979). I found that the characteristic features of language varieties of English were found not simply in different patterns of phonological and syntactical structure, but, to a large extent, in different selections from the stock of lexical items and varying attribution of meaning to such items. Frequently it appeared to be the case that the conventional areas for grammatical investigation do not indicate marked differences between varieties although such differences are strongly felt to be present. In these cases, the differences seem to appear more significantly in the areas of suprasegmentals, discourse conventions, and speech genres, if not in the cultural load generally expressed through the variety in question. Given this assessment, a VG should not only fulfil the expectation of bringing together all the language varieties in a unifying apparatus, but also of accounting for all the distinctive features of the individual varieties, including so-called extralinguistic ones.

Co-Occurrence Rules in a Varieties Grammar

The typolectal approach to a varieties grammar assumes that once a variety is selected by a speaker-hearer it remains the vehicle of communication until new contextual factors make it necessary to select a different variety. The principle of homogeneity within heterogeneity put forward above does not only favor typolects over idiolects but also implies that varieties are to be considered stable entities without internal variation to be accounted for. Although this assumption is part of the idealization process necessary for setting up a varieties grammar, it cannot be denied that the stable use of a variety, i.e. style consistency, is part of linguistic competence. In order to meet the requirements of a typolect in a varieties grammar, style consistency is to be defined in terms of statistical idealization and in terms of co-occurrence rules. We can speak of style-consistency when these co-occurrence rules are observed. "Once a selection has been made (...), later occurrences within the same utterance, conversation, or even between the same dyad may be predictable. Whenever there is predictability between two linguistic forms, we can speak of co-occurrence rules." (Ervin-Tripp 1972, based on Gumperz 1967). In a given variety, co-occurrence rules operate to make lexical items fit sentence structure, pronunciation or spelling, etc. as appropriate. The working of co-occurrence rules and of the resulting style inconsistency is illustrated by Gumperz and Herasimchuck (1973:99 ff.). They discuss these three sentences:

(1) They are holding a meeting to discuss the issue.
(2) They are getting together to talk it over.
(3) They're sittin' down to rap about it.

which are referentially equivalent. Nevertheless, they cannot be mixed at will:

(4) They're hav'n' a meet'n' to discuss the issue.
(5) They are sitting down to rap about it.

(4) and (5) are found to be strange or impossible because they violate ordinary stylistic co-occurrence restrictions. The sentences (1) to (3), in my account, belong to different varieties, and therefore their particular linguistic structure (here: morphology, syntax, lexicon) is also associated with meaning. It is this social or cultural meaning which exercises the co-occurrence restrictions observable in the examples.

Particulars of co-occurrence rules were also studied by Fisher (1958), Newman (1964) and Labov (1966) and others. In these studies the following co-occurrence relationships were documented:

- lexicon and sentence structure
- lexicon and morphology
- grammatical morphemes and phonology
- style and phonology
- structural elaboration and culturally valued situation
- degree of abbreviation and in-group communication

The research on co-occurrence rules mentioned here collaborates the claim that the grammar of language varieties must be envisaged in holistic terms. Obviously, the linguistic system of a variety is incomplete if the grammar only formulates rules

about the selection of phonological and morphological variants and forms of sentence structure; rules about the appropriate selection of lexical items, about stylistic devices like abbreviation and elaboration, about text organization and discourse conventions, etc., must be specified as well. Lakoff (1979), in her program for a 'grammar of style', has extended the notion of co-occurrence rules to include even cultural behavior. In a VG, co-occurrence rules indicate that different levels of language organization must be appropriately matched not only with lexicons and text types or speech genres, but also with cultural values and orientations as they may be expressed in particular varieties. This is not to say that linguistic grammar is to be subsumed under behavioral grammars (as in Lakoff's 'grammar of style'), but that the idea of grammar is to be extended to those areas of culture that are perceived to be expressed in language varieties.

Ways of Speaking

Within the ethnography of speaking one proposal appears to be especially suited to the needs of a VG. It is Dell Hymes' suggestion to describe language in terms of various ways of speaking. Exploring language in terms of ways of speaking is Hymes' contribution to mend the "principled schizophrenia" of linguistics, i.e. the compartmentalization of the scientific and social goals of its practitioners. (1973:60).

Ways of speaking can be interpreted as being similar to varieties bundled together in speech repertoires. They "comprise speech styles, on the one hand, and contexts of discourse, on the other, together with the relations of appropriateness obtaining between styles and contexts. Membership in a speech community consists in sharing one or more of its ways of speaking - that is, not in knowledge of a speech style (or any other purely linguistic entity, such as language) alone, but in terms of knowledge of appropriate use as well. There are rules of use without which rules of syntax are useless. Moreover, the linguistic features that enter into speech styles are not only the 'referentially-based' features usually dealt with in linguistics today, but also the stylistic features that are complementary to them and inseparable from them in communication." (Hymes 1973:67). The way Hymes speaks of ways of speaking is comparable to the way I speak about varieties. In my account, varieties are to be described holistically combining statements about the internal organization of a variety with statements about the context in which it operates and the cultural load expressed by it. Hymes also mentions members of a speech community "sharing one or more ways of speaking"; this is analogous to my suggestion that people participate in one or more varieties. Since ways of speaking can be shared, they are interpretable as typolects. The main differences between Hymes' approach and mine (as I see it) has to do with Hymes' emphasis on spoken interactive language, while I would also include written language.

If varieties are viewed as ways of speaking, then it is possible to bring 'intralinguistic' and 'extralinguistic' matters together in a unifying approach. In preceding sections I have repeatedly emphasized that differences between varieties of a language like English cannot be described as differences in linguistic structure alone. There is a high probability that such differences reflect different worlds, or help to shape or constitute such worlds. Whatever one's stance with regard to the Sapir/Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativism, there can hardly be any doubt that "community differences extend to the role of language in naming the worlds they help to shape or constitute" (Hymes 1973:74). Descriptions of language varieties are bound to "reveal basic cultural values and orientations" (Hymes 1973:75), not only differences in phonology and syntax, but differences in lifestyles as well.

Definition of Grammar

"A grammar accounts for the knowledge that a fluent speaker of a language possesses", this is a definition of grammar on which a varieties grammar can be built. The knowledge a fluent speaker-hearer has of his language, does not only include rules to produce grammatical sentences, but also to produce grammatical discourse. This knowledge enables him to fit language to contexts of use by selecting the appropriate linguistic items on all the relevant levels of language (from phonology to text typology). In a varieties grammar, the notion of grammaticality also covers that of appropriateness, in so far as it uses the concept of co-occurrence as a criterion to define grammaticality/appropriateness. In sentence grammar, non-grammatical results are achieved, if, e.g., (1) number agreement is violated, (2) if tense agreement is not observed, (3) if semantic categories are juxtaposed contrary to universal meaning constraints.

(1) The girls was there.
(2) I shall write to you yesterday.
(3) Colorless green ideas sleep furiously.

In a varieties grammar such co-occurrence restrictions do not only ensure the proper syntactic-semantic organization of sentences, but the appropriate selection of a certain variety. A grammatical sentence like

(4) I shall write to you tomorrow

is still ungrammatical (inappropriate) in a variety in which the

future is expressed by means of gonna. And another grammatical sentence

(5) The girls were there

is still inappropriate if the variety in question would have chicks instead of girls. Thus, a varieties grammar relates linguistic units to classes of varieties. It can do so by indicating how certain forms of one variety are re-written in another variety, e.g.

Black English		Standard English
Johnny car	----->	Johnny's car
her lazy	----->	she's lazy
[tiɒk]	----->	[θiɒk]
[nəfin]	----->	[nʌθiŋ]

but its holistic orientation makes it necessary for a varieties grammar to go beyond the conventional scope of grammar (as illustrated in these examples) and write similar rules (if possible) for higher-order units of language organization, for lexical and text-type selection, for discourse conventions, etc.

While grammars in general attempt to describe objectively and systematically the knowledge that a fluent speaker possesses of his language, a varieties grammar allots linguistic items to variously labelled varieties so that the grammar can reflect the varieties repertoire of a speaker and the knowledge he has of the appropriate use of language according to different varieties.

4 Applying a Varieties Grammar

Code-Switching in Terms of a VG

In a varieties grammar of English, the characteristics of the various varieties would not simply be listed (as envisaged by Crystal and Davy, 1969), but compared and related to each other in terms of a unifying theory. Practical considerations limit the scope to a few varieties only. Realistic varieties grammars would be set up ad hoc, as it were (see below). A simple case of such a limited varieties grammar is that which can be written for what has been called code-switching. Sociolinguists have suggested that speakers can switch from one code or register to another according to certain communicative factors. Within the framework of a varieties grammar, such code-switching can be seen as the change from one variety to another, provided the language from which the varieties are selected is the same in both cases. Indeed, shifting from one variety to another has been attested not only in the case of bilingual speakers (e.g. English - Spanish), but also in the case of monolingual speakers, where it is called style or dialect switching.

It has been said that dialects should not be considered codes, since there are no direct translation equivalents among codes as there are between dialects (Hawkins 1977:206 f.), the reason being that only dialects can be derived from underlying syntactic structures while codes are strategies derived from underlying speech functions. In a varieties grammar, however, where variety selection depends on contextual factors and appropriateness

conditions, every kind of variety can be regarded as code. Thus a varieties grammar of English might be set up to mirror the repertoires of speakers switching from, say, Black Vernacular English to Academic Standard English, or of speakers switching between formal and informal English, or to mirror a repertoire of varieties definable as literary genres. The switching might be the actual switching of people (e.g. inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area, ca. 1980), or it might be the switching done by a reader of different texts when turning from one text type to another. Whether the focus is on speakers or writers, on listeners or readers, the English language provides them all with a set of alternative varieties to choose from. Much research has centered on the development of such alternative systems in the linguistic repertoires of children. Ervin-Tripp (1973), e.g., reports a two-year-old's shift according to whether it is speaking to dolls or to infants. Shatz and Gelman (1973) document how four-year olds use more complex sentence structures when addressing adults than when speaking to their peers, and even simpler forms when addressing two-year-olds. They appear to switch between varieties that can be described in terms of graded elaboration in ways similar to those identified by Hamilton (1975; cp. below p. 18). Legum et al. (1971) show that Black children, too, may switch from one variety to another, selecting different grammatical features according to the age of the persons they are interacting with. All these studies (for further examples see Andersen, 1979) adduce evidence for something obvious: Code switching or variety switching is

part of ordinary everyday linguistic behavior right from the initial phase of linguistic acculturation onward. The awareness that language varieties correlate with settings or topics or characteristics of partners in conversation appears to develop quite early in the process of language acquisition. The communicative competence of speakers of English certainly includes the possibility for code-switching. An ad hoc varieties grammar of English would reflect the linguistic knowledge of such speakers by listing the rules not only of one variety, but of two, three, four (or more) varieties making up the repertoire in question. It would show which rules remain in operation when speakers switch from variety A to variety B, which rules are altered, which added, which deleted. In accordance with the holistic notion of a varieties grammar, these rules would contain the appropriate information on all the relevant features of language operating to create the significant differences between the varieties considered.

ESP in Terms of a VG

While for the native speaker of English the building-up of a repertoire of varieties is part of the natural process of language acquisition, speakers of other languages, if they are trained in English, only learn one variety of English, Textbook English or Standard Academic English. However, speakers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) are also in need of a variety repertoire, both for better understanding and for more appropriate communication.

A recent development in English Language Teaching (ELT) attempts to alleviate the unsatisfactory situation so many EFL speakers find themselves in. English for Special Purposes (ESP) aims at the teaching of clearly identified typolectal varieties of English in addition to the standardized Textbook English. Very frequently, in modern schools, ESP becomes EST (English for Science and Technology), providing the students with information about varieties like 'English for Airline Pilots', 'English for Computer Programmers', etc. But ESP may also teach the English of certain literary genres or 'The English of the American Blacks'. In short, as Strevens says (1972), ESP is an umbrella term that can be made to cover just about every aspect of ELT. What is important to ESP is that the study of English should be made more practical and functional for the learner; that knowledge of the English language should be geared towards the student's specific needs as, e.g., when travelling to English-speaking countries, when studying particular genres of English literature,

when preparing himself for a job which necessitates command of a certain register, etc.

It is often said that ESP can be added to the 'common core' of the basic course in Textbook English. The 'common core' referred to by English language teachers, however, is not identical with the 'common core' of a varieties grammar (cp. p. 9). Courses in Standard English train students in a specific variety of English, only part of which is made up of the 'common core' also shared by other varieties. Given a varieties repertoire of, say, Standard Textbook English and two ESP varieties, the core part common to the three varieties can be identified. After such rectification of the school notion of 'common core', ESP can easily be handled within the framework of a varieties grammar. The grammar would indicate which items and rules already learnt in the basic course are transferable into the special variety added in the ESP program, which must be altered, which deleted, which added. Considering the broad variety of Scientific English, it becomes clear that a varieties grammar would have to give directions not only about the lexicon, but about what has been summarily called rhetorics, too. Scientific English would be characterized, among other features, by:

- extensive use of the passive voice: depersonalization
- word class shifts, especially between nouns and verbs
- extension of rules for word-formation: fewer restrictions with regard to compounding; lists of modifying prefixes and suffixes, possibly including frequency counts
- additional rules for plural formation of nouns derived from Greek or Latin
- use of tense to express generalization or specifity.

As in the case of code-switching, a VG would be set up ad hoc so as to serve the specific needs of students and teachers in ESP and ELT programs. While such varieties grammars are descriptive of certain variety repertoires, they can, in the context of language instruction, also be used prescriptively.

Contrastive Analysis and the VG

Although contrastive analysis (CA) has been traditionally applied in the comparison of different languages, the method can also be applied in the comparison of different varieties of the same language. If so, CA is the method whereby the differences between two (or more) varieties are made explicit; identical areas, by implication, are also included. CA is mostly considered part of Applied Linguistics, being motivated mainly by the need of language teachers to uncover relevant areas of difference between the language or variety taught and the language or variety spoken by the students. The following areas are usually singled out for CA: sound systems, writing systems, vocabulary systems, syntactic structures, cultures; other areas might be added.

A contrastive approach to English language varieties was implied in Labov et al.'s (1968) study of Vernacular Black English in New York City, and, more strongly, in Fasold and Wolfram's (1970) Teaching Standard English in the Inner City, as well as in Bartley and Politzer's (1972) Standard English for Speakers

of Non-Standard Dialects. Walt Wolfram, to my knowledge, was the first scholar to relate CA openly to language varieties, especially sociolects, and variation theory (1978). As a variationist of the Labovian school, Wolfram discusses the quantitative dimension in what he calls 'contrastive social lectology' and demonstrates the relevance of variable rule methodology for a unified, though still contrastive, approach to language varieties. CA may thus very well be carried out within the framework of a varieties grammar. If this varieties grammar is defined in terms of the Labovian model, CA is implied from the start. CA, however, need not be bound to any particular approach. As a branch of applied linguistics, it may be carried out in an ecclectic way. For the type of varieties grammar envisaged here, CA offers the possibility to deal efficiently with those aspects of language neglected in grammatical theory (including variationist theory). Although, at present, a kind of generative-transformational model is probably the most suitable to CA, CA is also done in purely structuralist, or quite informal terms. If language variation is detected, the procedure of CA is to describe a number of specific varieties and then to extrapolate what is shared (the common core) and what is different (the variety specific features). Die Pietro (1976a: 29-30) shows one possibility to list the steps to be taken in CA:

(1) observe the differences between the surface structures
(2) postulate underlying universals
(3) formulate the deep-to-surface (realizational) rules

Like Dingwall (1964), Di Pietro thinks that working with deep and surface levels is extremely useful in CA. His awareness of the limitations of TGG - voiced, e.g., in Di Pietro 1976b - makes him complement the final apparatus of conversion rules by a taxanomy of contrasts.

When reviewing models purporting to do justice to language variation (above, p. 11 ff.), I pointed out the shortcomings of all these models with regard to their coverage of all the areas relevant for a descriptive characterization of language varieties within a varieties grammar, in particular lexical systems and linguistic units larger than the sentence. These limitations, it appears, can be overcome if taxonomies are accepted in the varieties grammar in order to complement the set of conversion rules covering phonology and syntax; points of difference in other areas could then simply be listed. As in CA, the comparison of language varieties could thus be extended beyond the coverage of grammar in the narrow sense to include features of the cultural systems represented by the varieties in question. This option of CA is taken below, where it leads to the 'transformational-additive model'.

Scope and Form of a VG

A varieties grammar can be read as a grammar of choice. People are viewed as selecting one variety over another because this particular variety is understood to be the appropriate one in a given situation. Following Halliday (1978:5) we can say that "the structure of sentences and other units is explained by derivation from their functions" in a wider context.

Although a varieties grammar wants to provide a framework for a unified approach to diverse language varieties, it is basically comparative-contrastive and cross-cultural. A varieties grammar shows how particular groups of speakers, or situations, or literary genres, etc., demand their own linguistic code due to their own specific socio-cultural input. A sketch of varieties as typolects illustrates what is similar and different between varieties - much as in language typology; and by concentrating on the common core shared by different varieties, it can point out the manifestations of the language characteristics of all the varieties - much as in language universals.

A varieties grammar does not only account for the creation of correct sentences, but sees sentences in the wider context of texts. and texts within cultural frames identified by the variety label. In addition to particulars of phonology,

morphology, and syntax a varieties grammar may list types of texts and speech genres, with frequency counts concerning their occurrence in given varieties, textual characteristics, like statistical regularities concerning, say, mean sentence length; type-token ratios for lexical items; frequency counts of words taken from particular vocabulary fields; characteristic transformations, types of surface organization, ways of distributing background and foreground information (cp. Fillmore 1974); discourse routines, rules of address and leavetaking, etc. So far there exists no single grammar model that would include all the levels of language as required by a holistic varieties grammar. While rules concerning phonology, morphology, and syntax can probably be formulated in terms of generative dialectology, variable rule methodology, or a Klein grammar, problems of grammar writing arise in the textual and cultural parts of a varieties grammar. Once one moves outside the conventional areas of grammar, the problems of notation are not solved yet. Formal grammar writing, however, is possible only with the help of an adequate notational system. A typolectal kind of varieties grammar needs a notational system which allows the consistent coverage of all the areas included according to its holistic orientation. Solutions to these problems might come from text grammars, from formalizations developed out of discourse analysis, and from explorations into the possibilities of writing the grammars of literary genres and of styles (cp. Wehrlich 1976; Cluysenaar 1977; Ohmann 1964; Traugott and Pratt 1980; Lakoff 1979).In view of the still existing problems in

notation and formalization, it might be advisable to abandon the idea of writing a formal grammar and resort to an informal one; i.e. the individual varieties would be described not in terms of an abstract formalism, but in terms of a set of descriptive statements giving direct information about the variety in question. Such an informal procedure would make it quite easy to include even further relevant points, like worldview and lifestyle characteristics of the typical speakers of a particular variety, and the cultural embedding of that variety in general. All this means that, at least for the time being, a varieties grammar of English would have to be approached in an ecclectic or simply taxonomic way. As George Lakoff has put it, "The problem with all current theories is that they are just too weak to deal with most linguistic phenomena." (1974:XI-35). Taken individually and applied to certain areas of grammar only, such theories might be quite powerful. The point therefore is, not to posit a situation of rivalry between linguistic models, but to use them in combination with each other, each in that area where it has its best possibilities.

The VG as an Ad-Hoc Grammar

Another problem a varieties grammar has to cope with is the enormous amount of data it is expected to store. To provide all the material needed for a complete varieties grammar of English cannot be the job of any man alone. Modern technology,

however, has made it possible to store data in machines. But even with the help of the modern computer at hand, it is still beyond the powers of man to put at our disposal a data bank containing all the information about all the varieties of English. Again, since nobody knows how many varieties of English there are, the job of gathering data would never come to an end.

What is reasonable and what can be done, however, is the storing of variety data according to repertoire clusters. A varieties grammar of English can be written, e.g., for a repertoire of clearly specified English language varieties current in the San Francisco Bay Area ca. 1980 (synchronic), or a repertoire of English educational language varieties through time (diachronic). Further simplification of such ad hoc varieties grammars can be achieved if the varieties included are fully comparable in scope. This restriction may need some amplification. The terms 'variety' and 'typolect' have been left open on purpose to cover such disparate kinds of language varieties as dialects, genres, jargons, styles. Obviously, there are differences of scope and dimensions. Dialects, e.g., may have subvarieties like jargons and styles, while any of these might not have any subvarieties at all. The simplest type of a varieties grammar would be envisaged for a repertoire of varieties that have comparable scope, e.g.,

(1) British English
American English
Australian English

(2) Standard English
Black English
Chicano English

(3) Aelfredian Old English
Ricardian Middle English
Elizabethan Early Modern English

(4) The English of White Teenagers in Boston
The English of Black Teenagers in Watts
The English of Chinese-American Teenagers in San Francisco

(5) The language of Old English prayers
The language of Middle English prayers
The language of Modern English prayers

(6) The English of lawyers
The English of physicians
The English of educators

'Ad hoc' may also be understood in a different sense. The levels of language included may differ from one type of varieties grammar to another, depending on the kinds of varieties considered. While in (5) there is obviously no need (and no possibility) for a complete listing of speech act realizations - praying being the only one to be considered -, such a list would point out essential differences between the varieties of repertoire (4). Specialized lexicon will be important for (4), (5) and (6); intonation for (1), (2), and (4); speech genres

for (4), text types for (3), etc.

There would thus not be one single varieties grammar of English; but there would be several ad hoc grammars, each written for two or more varieties. There are two models I can propose for the structure of such grammars: (1) the transformational-additive model, (and (2) the potential-selection model.

The Transformational-Additive Model

Both terms, 'potential-selection" and 'transformational-additive' reflect the process by which the grammar of a single variety is obtained from the overall varieties grammar. While in the 'potential-selection' model the way is simply to select V_x from the overall inventory of the potential, the 'transformational-additive' model is more complex. Its apparatus reflects the conclusions reached in the preceding sections that none of the existing models can deal with all the aspects of language that seem to be relevant to the codification of a variety in a varieties grammar. Following the suggestions made by DiPietro for contrastive analysis (see p. 34 f.), the transformational-additive model has two parts:

(1) a transformational grammar for phonology, morphology and syntax, and

(2) a catalog of features and general characteristics of individual varieties outside the areas covered in (1)

In part one, the common core of the varieties grammar is interpreted as a kind of deep structure underlying the various surface forms of the individual varieties. The grammar then works along the lines of the models developed for generative dialectology (see p. 10 f.). In part two, the transformational grammar is complemented with a taxonomy of contrasts, containing the additional information needed for a particular varieties repertoire, e.g. information on spelling conventions, prosodic features, speech acts, speech and textual genres and their structure, lexicon, cultural values.

The transformational-additive model is openly ecclectic and, since it borrows from contrastive analysis, intended to be useful in applied linguistics, especially language (variety) instruction.

The Potential-Selection Model

The 'Potential-Selection Model' is based on Kanngiesser's notion of the 'potential' discussed above (p. 10) and that of Klein's 'Reference Grammar' (p. 19). Here, the meaning of 'potential' and 'reference grammar' is extended beyond what both Kanngiesser and Klein had envisaged, so as to account for the full knowledge a fluent speaker possesses of his language and the varieties he uses (see p. 20 f.). This extended potential is to be thought of as a data pool fed by descriptive surface form data of various varieties (limited according to the

specific varieties repertoire for which the grammar is to be set up) and yielding, by means of a speaker-writer's or listener-reader's selection of variety X, not only grammatical sentences, but also appropriate pronunciation habits, the appropriate dictionary, the appropriate discourse routines and conversational strategies, the text types or speech genres needed, even the cultural values and orientations expressed in X. In short, it is supposed to make available the manual requested by Fillmore's outside god (cp. p. 20). With all the information contained in that manual at hand, the speaker-writer or listener-reader could then proceed to encode a text into X or decode another text from X.

The potential must be thought of as consisting of several parts, separating the inventories of graphemes, phonemes, morphemes, words, set phrases, sentence types, text types, conversational routines, cultural values, etc. The potential-selection model presupposes a description of the varieties included in a particular (ad hoc) varieties grammar according to a unified organizational plan. The data are to be made available in the format of a unified description listing everything needed for a reliable manual of any of the varieties to be stored. Items in the inventories would be indexed with variety labels so that, in the case of the lexicon, e.g., entries might look like this:

policeman $V_{1,4,5}$
cop $V_{2,3}$
copper V_{7}
dick V_{6}

In addition, all these entries might be affixed with frequency counts. Rules for phoneme realization, word-formation or sentence formation contained in the potential would be numbered from 1 to x, with indexes for the individual varieties accompanying every entry. Thus, in a given part, the rules might be ordered like this:

$_1{}^{V}1,2,3, \ldots$

$_2{}^{V}3, \ldots$

$_3{}^{V}1,2, \ldots$

$_4{}^{V}1,2,3,7, \ldots$

$_5{}^{V}2,3,5, \ldots$

$_6{}^{V}1,3,5,6, \ldots$

$_7{}^{V}2,3,6,7, \ldots$

etc.

yielding an output for varieties like this:

V_1: rules 1,3,4,6, ...

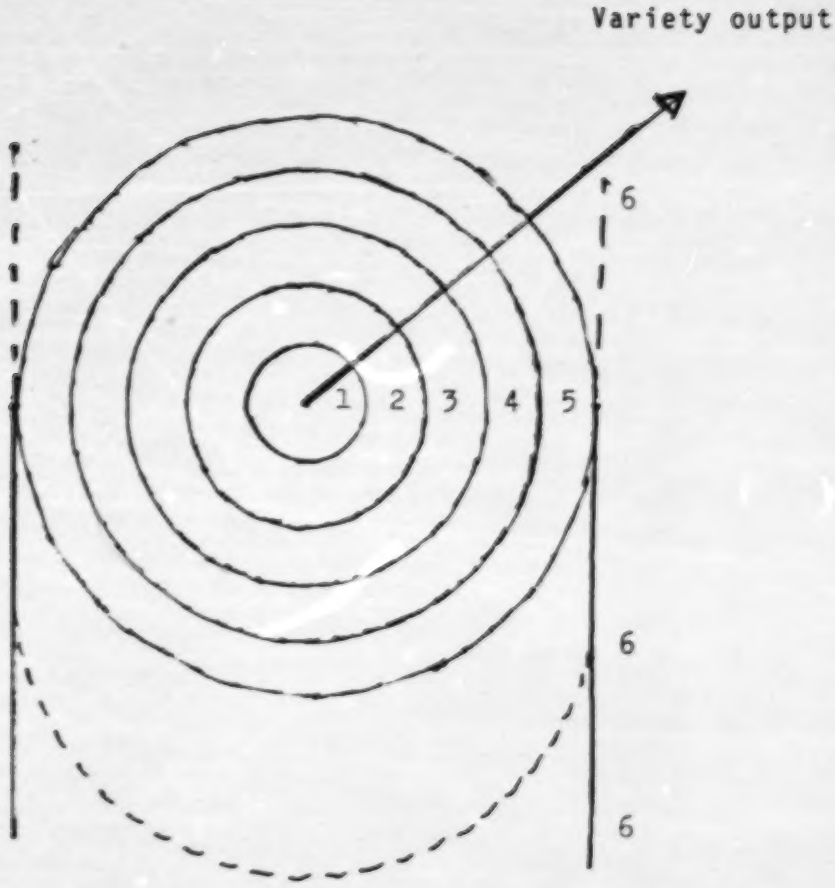
V_2: rules 1,3,4,5,7, ...

V_3: rules 1,2,4,5,6,7, ...

etc.

The complete set of rules selected from the potential, together with the complete set of units selected from the potential inventory, produce the surface realizations of the language characteristic of the variety in question. The potential-selection model ideally mirrors the way a fluent speaker competently selects a segment of language according to the factors perceived as constituting language varieties.

(10) Variety selection process



Factors

1 Speaker background, incl. expectations
2 Topic
3 Channel
4 Participants: their social status, sex, age, ethnicity, occupation
5 Location
6 Time

Figure (10), preceding page). As a model of grammar it is taxonomic. If variety X is selected, all the linguistic items labelled (indexed) X in the potential will be at the speaker-writer's or listener-reader's disposal, so that speech or writing can be encoded or decoded in the variety-specific way; discourse or text will be identifiable as being in variety X.

The potential-selection model may appear to be quite simple. This, in my view, is certainly to its credit. The main objection is therefore probably not directed against its workability, but at its validity as a model for a varieties grammar. After all: Isn't it just that the data of an accurate and complete description of, say, Black English, are stored into a computer, and that, since this computer has been programmed correctly, it will give back the same data if so required ? And isn't it true that the same procedure also applies in the case of any other variety that is to be included ? What then is the difference between the mechanism of the potential-selection model and the old-fashioned consultation of separate manuals of Black English and other varieties of English ? The answer to that kind of objection is to point out that, since the potential-selection model makes use of a unified description and a unified terminology, comparison of the structures of the various varieties is possible without further processing. The features shared by all the varieties are easily obtainable, and equally the features shared only by two (or more) varieties. A printout of the common core (surface manifestation) of any two, or more, or all varieties included can be obtained readily. The indexing of the entries according to varieties also allows a printout of those features particular to any one variety. Although it is removed from the framework of generative grammar Kanngiesser

was working in, the potential-selection model can nevertheless be defined in terms of Kanngiesser's potential and standard. It still qualifies as a model for a varieties grammar and has clear advantages over the separate consultation of varieties manuals.

References

Andersen, Elaine. 1977. Learning to speak with style. A study of the sociolinguistic skills of children. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Bailey, Charles-James N. 1973. Variation and Linguistic Theory. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bartley, D.E. and R.L. Politzer. 1972. Practice-Centered Teacher Training: Standard English for Speakers of Nonstandard Dialects. Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development.

Bereiter, Carl and Englemann, S. 1966. Teaching disadvantaged children in the preschool. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Bernstein, Basil. 1971. Class, codes and control, 1: theoretical studies towards a sociology of language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bickerton, Derek. 1973. The nature of a creole continuum. Language, 44: 640-669.

Cedergren, H.J. and D. Sankoff. 1974. Variable Rules. Performance as a statistical reflection of competence. Language 50: 333-355.

Cluysenaar, Anne. 1976. Introduction to Literary Stylistics. London: Batsford.

Crystal, D. + D. Davy. 1969. Investigating English Style. London: Longman.

Crystal, D. + P. Fletcher. 1979. Profile analysis of language disability. In Fillmore, Ch.J., D. Kempler and W. S-Y Wang (eds.). Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior. New York/ San Francisco: Academic Press. Pp. 167-188.

DeCamp, David. 1970. Is a sociolinguistic theory possible ? GURT 21:157-73.
1971. Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole continuum. In Hymes, D. (ed.), Pidginization and Creolization of languages. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 349-370.

Dingwall, W. 1964. Transformational-generative grammar and contrastive analysis. Language Learning, 14:147-160.

DiPietro, Robert J. 1976a. Language Structures in Contrast. 2nd edition. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.
1976b. The strategies of language use. LACUS Forum 1975: 462-467.

Dolezel, Lubomir. 1968. Russian and Prague School Functional Stylistics. Style, 2: 143-158.

Dundes, Alan. 1975. Slurs International. Southern Folklore Quarterly, 39:15-58.

Dürmüller, Urs. 1979. An Outside View of English Language Varieties. American Dialect Society, Pacific Coast Regional Meeting, California State University, Sacramento, May 5. MS.
198o. California English. Varieties of English in the San Francisco Bay Area. Kroeber Anthropological Society, University of California, Berkeley. MS.
1981. Folklore and Sociolinguistics. Berkeley Linguistics Society Publications, 7.

Ervin-Tripp, Susan. 1972. On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-occurrence. In Gumperz and Hymes, 1972:213-250.
1973. Children's sociolinguistic competence and dialect diversity. In her Language acquisition and communicative choice. Stanford University Press, Pp. 262-301.

Fasold, R.W. and W. Wolfram. Teaching Standard English in the Inner City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1972. A grammarian looks to sociolinguistics. GURT 23:273-287.
1974. Pragmatics and the description of discourse. Berkeley Studies in Syntax and Semantics. I:V.

Fisher, J. 1958. Social influence on the choice of a linguistic variant. Word, 14:47-56.

Gumperz, John J. 1967. Sociolinguistic and communication in small groups. Language Behavior Research Laboratory, Working Paper No. 33, University of California, Berkeley.

Gumperz, J.J. and E. Herasimchuck. 1972. The conversational analysis of social meaning: A study of classroom interaction. GURT 23.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. Language as a Social Semiotic. Baltimore: University Park Press.

Hamilton, James. 1975. The People's English. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt.

Hausmann, Robert B. 1975. Underlying representations in dialectology. Lingua, 35:61-71.

Hawkins, P.R. 1977. Social Class, the Nominal Group, and Verbal Strategies. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hockett, C.F. 1958. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: Macmillan.

Hymes, Dell. 1973. Speech and Language. Daedalus 102:59-85.

Kanngiesser, Siegfried. 1972. Aspekte der synchronen und diachronen Linguistik. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Klein, W. + N. Dittmar. 1978. The Acquisition of German syntax by Foreign Migrant Workers. In Sankoff, A. (ed.). Linguistic Vairation: Models and Methods. New York, San Francisco: Academic Press.

Klein, Wolfgang. 1974. Variation in the Sprache. Ein Verfahren zu ihrer Beschreibung. Kronberg/Ts.: Scriptor.

Labov, William. 1966. The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

1969. Contraction, delection, and inherent variability of the English copula. Language, 45:715-762.

Labov, W., P. Cohen, C. Robbins and J. Lewis. 1968. A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Cooperative research report no. 3288 (2 vols.). U.S. Office of Education (ERIC ED 028 423).

Lakoff, George. 1974. Interview with Herman Parret. Berkeley Studies in Syntax and Semantics. I:XI.

Lakoff, Robin. 1979. Stylistic Strategies within a Grammar of Style. Annals of the New York Academy of Science:53.

Legum, St., C. Pfaff, G. Tinnie and M. Nicholas. 1971. The speech of young black children in Los Angeles. Technical Report no. 33. Inglewood, Calif.: Southwest Regional Laboratory.

Newman, S. 1964. Vocabulary Levels: Zuni Sacred and Slang Usage. In Hymes 1964: 397-406.

Ohmann, Richard. 1964. Generative grammars and the concept of literary style. Word, 20: 423-439.

Quirk, R. et al. 1972. A Grammar of Contemporary English. London: Longman.

Sankoff, David. 1975. VARBRUL, version 2. MS.

Schleicher, August. 1861-1862. Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprache. Weimar: Böhlau.

Shatz, M. and R. Gelman. 1973. The development of communication skills: Modifications in the speech of young children as a function of listener. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development. 38.

Stolz, W. and G. Bills. 1969. An investigation of the nonstandard dimension of Central Texan English. ERIC-ED 026-130.

Strevens, Peter. 1973. Technical, Technological, and Scientific English. English Language Teaching, 27:223-234.

Traugott, Elizabeth and M. Pratt. 1980. Linguistics for students of literature. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Werlich, Egon. 1976. A Text Grammar of English. Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer.

Wolfram, Walter A. 1971. Black-White Speech Differences Revisited. In Wolfram, W. and N.H. Clarke (eds.). Black-White Speech Relationships. Wahsington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. Pp. 139-154.

1978. Contrastive Linguistics and Social Lectology. Language Learning, 28:1-28.

Wunderlich, D. 1974. Grundlagen der Linguistik. Reinbeck: Rowohlt.